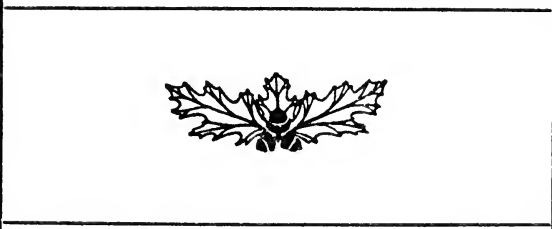


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LETTERS
OF
George Washington
TO
GEORGE AND JAMES CLINTON

*A Collection of thirty-five Letters, of which
twenty-six are Unpublished, together
with WASHINGTON'S WAR MAP of
New York and New Jersey*



NEW YORK
Jointly owned and offered for sale by *George
H. Richmond* and by *The New York
Co-operative Society, 358 Fifth Avenue*



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George P. Hillman

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**THE
WASHINGTON-CLINTON
LETTERS**

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P R E F A T O R Y N O T E

A *LITTLE MORE* than half a century ago the Legislature of the State of New York purchased the "Public Papers of George Clinton, First Governor of New York," publishing them many years later in six thick volumes. The late George W. Clinton of Buffalo, editor-in-chief of these manuscripts and documents, after a most thorough investigation made this significant statement: "Several letters of Washington to George Clinton are wanting; of which I especially regret the absence of one or two in which it seems he must have stated some grand movement he had in contemplation against the enemy, but which is not disclosed in George Clinton's answers assuring him of hearty and strong co-operation."

In this connection the New York State Historian, in his preface to "The Clinton Papers," falls into a serious error in stating that "The missing letters of Washington have, with two or three exceptions, been secured by the State Historian from the correspondence of the statesmen of the time, as published by Messrs. George P. Putnam's Sons, New York." As a matter of fact, although the contents of a few of these letters have been ascertained in this man-

ner, the whereabouts of the originals, as well as the contents of the majority of the series, was only recently revealed by the death of Wm. S. Appleton, a Boston collector, and the consequent public auction of his library.

Not only are many letters of Washington to George Clinton missing in the six Clinton volumes, but also many equally interesting letters of the Commander-in-Chief to Brigadier-General James Clinton are conspicuously absent. These letters to the two famous brothers were in many cases inter-related, bearing upon campaigns and actions in which both the Clintons played prominent parts. Strange to say, when this collection was recently offered at auction in the Appleton Sale in Boston, the catalogue made no mention of the fact that these letters with few exceptions, are ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED—the very series that is missing from the Clinton papers owned by New York State. This ignorance on the part of the auctioneers was apparently shared by all the bidders present, including ourselves, or these letters would have soared in price; nor, had we then possessed the full knowledge that is now ours, should we have allowed a single unpublished letter to escape us. As it was, George H. Richmond was the largest purchaser, while the New York Co-operative Society came second. In view of this fact, the suggestion was made that we should put our purchases together, and offer the letters as a collection. This was agreed

to, and subsequent research of both Washington and Clinton material absolutely established the character of our find. We then proceeded to buy from other dealers as many as possible of the letters that we had not bid in at the sale, thus obtaining all excepting five of the entire Clinton series. Of the thirty-five letters now in our possession, items numbered VI, XIX, XXI, XXVII, and XXXV have been entirely published, and items numbered IV, VII, XXIII, and XXXIII mainly published, the interesting postscripts of these four letters remaining unpublished. **THE OTHER TWENTY-SIX LETTERS HAVE NEVER BEEN PRINTED, AND FORM AN UNPUBLISHED SERIES OF HISTORIC REVOLUTIONARY MANUSCRIPTS SUCH AS MAY NEVER BE MET WITH AGAIN.**

As will be found from the following pages, these letters supply a lost chapter in the story of that event of paramount importance in the history of the world—the American Revolution. It is a chapter written by the chief actor in that great drama. It throws a stronger light than ever upon the many-sided character of George Washington: it shows his caution, coupled with boldness; his unflinching zeal for the American cause, his bravery and brilliancy, his watchfulness and mastery of detail—in a word it gives a perfect picture of the “Father of his Country.” These letters enlighten several dark places in the history of those troublous times and are valu-

able as helping to complete a story that cannot be too often, too fully, or too truthfully told.

All these letters were dictated and signed by Washington. The body of many of them is in *THE AUTOGRAPH OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON* and of Col. David Humphreys. The collection contains so very much of interest that it seems invidious to particularize, yet special attention may be called to Letters X-XVII, inclusive, which constitute an unpublished series having to do with the successful Sullivan-Clinton expedition against the Indians, after the Cherry Valley massacre; Letter XX, which is probably the lengthiest unpublished important war letter of Washington in existence; Letter XXXIII, Washington's notable appeal to the Governors of the States; and Letter XXXV, the famous "Newburgh Address," composed by Washington when he retired from command of the army.

The map of New York and New Jersey used by Washington, and bearing many notes in his autograph, is described at length later in this catalogue. It comes from the same source, and is offered together with these letters.

Special notes and references in connection with the individual letters will be found in the catalogue for the convenience of any collector who may wish to purchase this series with a view to their editing and publication. To avoid confusion, George Clinton will be alluded to as "Governor" and

James as "General," although both brothers held the rank of "Brigadier-General." It should further be noted that the letters are in remarkably good condition, several displaying Washington's seal.

G. S. H.

THIS COLLECTION MAY BE SEEN AND PRICE
ASCERTAINED, ON APPLICATION TO

GEORGE H. RICHMOND,

. 358 *Fifth Avenue, New York,*

OR

THE NEW YORK CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY,

358 *Fifth Avenue, New York.*

GEORGE CLINTON

BRIGADIER-GENERAL IN THE REVOLUTION, GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK STATE, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

George Clinton was born in Little Britain, Ulster County, N. Y., in 1739, and died in Washington in 1812. On his return from a privateering cruise in 1758, he accompanied his father and brother James in the expedition against Fort Frontenac as a lieutenant, and on the disbanding of the colonial forces he studied in the law-office of William Smith, and settled in his birthplace, receiving shortly afterward a clerkship from the colonial governor, Admiral George Clinton, a connection of the family. He was elected in 1768 to the New York Assembly, where he so resolutely maintained the cause of the colonies against the Crown that on April 22, 1775, he was elected by the New York Provincial Convention one of the delegates to the second Continental Congress, taking his seat on May 15th. He did not vote on the question of independence, as the members of the New York Provincial Congress, which he represented, did not consider themselves authorized

to instruct their delegates to act on that question. They purposely left it to the new Provincial Congress, which met at White Plains, July 8, 1776, and which, on the next day, passed unanimously a resolution approving of the declaration. Clinton was likewise prevented from signing the declaration with the New York delegation on July 15th by receiving on the 7th of that month an imperative call from Washington to take post in the Highlands, with rank as general of militia. In the spring of 1777 he was a deputy to the New York Provincial Congress, which framed the first State constitution, but was again called into the field by Congress, and appointed March 25, 1777, a brigadier-general in the Continental army. Assisted by his brother James, he made a brilliant, though unsuccessful defense, October 6, 1777, of the Highland forts, Clinton and Montgomery, against Sir Henry Clinton. He was chosen first governor of the State, April 20, 1777, and in 1780 was re-elected to the office, which he retained by successive elections until 1795. From the period of his first occupation of the gubernatorial chair until its final relinquishment he exhibited great energy of character, and in the defense of the State rendered important services, both in a civil and military capacity. In 1780 he thwarted an expedition, led by Sir John Johnson, Brant, and Cornplanter, into the Mohawk Valley, and thus saved the settlers from the horrors of the torch and scalping-knife.

He was active in preventing encroachments on the territory of New York by the settlers of the New Hampshire grants, and was largely instrumental with Timothy Pickering in concluding, after the war, lasting treaties of peace with the Western Indians. In 1783 he accompanied Washington and Hamilton on a tour of the northern and western posts of the State, on their return visiting, with Schuyler as a guide, the High-Rock Spring at Saratoga. While on this trip he first conceived the project of a canal between the Mohawk and Wood Creek, which he recommended to the Legislature in his speech opening the session of 1791, an idea that was subsequently carried out to its legitimate end in the Erie and Champlain canals by his nephew, Governor De Witt Clinton. At the time of Shays's Rebellion, 1787, he marched in person, at the head of the militia, against the insurgents, and by this prompt action greatly aided the Governor of Massachusetts in quelling that outbreak. In 1788 he presided at the State convention to ratify the Federal Constitution, the adoption of which he opposed, believing that too much power would thereby pass to the Federal Congress and the Executive. At the first presidential election he received three of the electoral votes cast for the vice-presidency. In 1792, when Washington was re-elected, Clinton had for the same office fifty votes, and at the sixth presidential election, 1809-13, he received six ballots from New York for the

office of President. In 1800 he was chosen to the Legislature after one of the most hotly contested elections in the annals of the State, and in 1801 he was again governor. In 1804 he was elected Vice-President of the United States, which office he filled until his death. His last important public act was to negative, by his casting vote in the Senate, the renewal of the charter of the United States Bank in 1811. He took great interest in education, and in his message at the opening session of the Legislature of 1795 he initiated the movement for the organization of a common-school system. As a military man Clinton was bold and courageous, and endowed with a will that rarely failed him in sudden emergencies. As a civil magistrate he was a staunch friend to literature and social order. In private life he was affectionate, winning, though dignified in his manner, strong in his dislikes, and warm in his friendships. The vast influence that he wielded was due more to sound judgment, marvelous energy, and great moral force of character, than to any specially high-sounding or brilliant achievements.—*From "The Cyclopædia of American Biography."*

JAMES CLINTON

MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE REVOLUTION, MEMBER
OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

James Clinton, the father of De Witt Clinton, whose name is reverently cherished as the benefactor to the great State of New York and the friend and patron of internal improvements, as also the brother of Governor George Clinton, was born in Ulster County, N. Y., on August 9, 1736. Very early he took a liking to the hardy exercise and rude sports of the backwoodsman, and when quite young had already made one of several parties of trappers and hunters. It was in these excursions that he learned the habits and character of the neighboring Indians, which knowledge was of so much use to him in the subsequent wars. On the breaking out of the old French war, in 1755, he enlisted under Bradstreet, and was by that brave soldier made a captain the following year. In 1763 he was placed in command of a battalion raised for home defense, and subsequently he was promoted to the rank of colonel.

Colonel Clinton, together with his brother George, the Governor of New York during the

Revolution, were among the first to espouse the cause of the patriots and to take up arms in defense of their rights. In 1775 he was joined to the army that was to be led against Quebec, and accompanied the brave Montgomery on his luckless and fatal expedition, and returned with the forlorn remnant of that devoted army. Here his qualities as a good soldier were put to the severest test, and were found equal to the emergency.

In 1776 Colonel Clinton was elevated to the rank of brigadier-general. He was placed in command, successively, of Forts Montgomery and Clinton, which he was compelled to abandon to the enemy after a most obstinate defense. He barely escaped with his life, and returned to the headquarters of the army, where his services were soon after required to lead a formidable force against the Indians, who, under Brant and the infamous Butlers, were spreading devastation with fire and sword throughout western New York.

In 1779 General Sullivan was ordered to proceed against this savage foe, whose bloody cruelty at Cherry Valley and other places had roused the indignation of the country to the highest pitch. General Clinton was united with Sullivan in this expedition, but led a separate force, which was to unite with that of Sullivan at Tioga. After much labor he reached, in July, the foot of Otsego Lake, around whose flat shores many of the Indians made their homes and raised their corn. It being

a very dry season, he found the outlet of the lake quite too shallow to allow his boats to pass. In this dilemma he resorted to the expedient of damming the mouth of the outlet, which caused the waters to overflow the banks, and thus to destroy the crops which were just then reaching the milk, and filling the savages with astonishment, who could not imagine by what cause such a sudden flood should overwhelm them in the middle of an unusually dry season. When the waters in the lake were sufficiently swollen the obstructions were removed, and his bateaux passed triumphantly on the bosom of the torrent, and thus he was enabled to effect his junction with Sullivan at Tioga. The object of the expedition was fully gained, and Brant and his brutal coadjutors, the brothers Butler, with their savage auxiliaries, were utterly scattered and dismayed. Many unnecessary cruelties were practised, and much valuable property was destroyed; but this was deemed necessary to inspire the minds of these savage foes with a sense of the prowess of American arms, and to deter them from further bloody atrocities. Yet it must forever cause the cheek of every humane American to tingle at the remembrance of the cruel deeds which were done by our fathers' hands in that relentless and bloody expedition.

During the remainder of the War of the Revolution, General Clinton held his headquarters at Albany, and was attached to the northern army,

where he rendered very important aid in bringing to a successful issue the great struggle for independence. On retiring from the field of strife, he settled on his estates near Newburgh, Orange County, N. Y., where he lived many years in the enjoyment of the honors he had reaped, filling various civil offices, and highly respected by all who knew him. On his retirement he received the public thanks of his native State and the nation, and he went down to his grave with all his honors clustering thick upon his head. He died on December 22, 1812, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.—*From “The American Portrait Gallery.”*

THE WASHINGTON LETTERS

I

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JUNE 25,
1776

Three page folio. From Washington in New York to Clinton at Fort Constitution, giving a vivid picture of the difficulty of fortifying this important post on the Hudson River, and of the paucity of necessary war supplies. This fort was on an island opposite West Point, and thus blocked the way to Albany.

“I observe by the Returns that your regiment is still extremely deficient in Arms, which is a circumstance highly distressing at this time—as I have no prospect of getting any, unless some unforeseen fortunate event should cast up that I know nothing of. I request you to have no dependence on me for a supply, and that you will use every possible method to procure what you want from the country people, or whensoever they can be had by purchasing them.”

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

II

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JUNE 29
AND JULY 1, 1776

One page folio. In this letter, written from New York only a few days before the Declaration

of Independence, Washington informs Clinton at Fort Constitution of the approach of the English fleet under General Howe, and of the necessity of preparing for the possible advance of the English up the Hudson (North) River.

“New York June 29, 1776.

“Sir: The Committee inform me that no evidence has appeared against Fletcher Mathews, and desire his papers may be delivered to him, which I would have you comply with, likewise the request of the Committee of Newburgh and New Windsor. I have to inform you of the arrival of about 50 sail this day at the Hook, this is part of a fleet of 130 which left Halifax under General Howe the 9th Inst. Would have you make all possible preparation in case the enemy should have in view to push some of their Frigates up the North River, to give them a proper reception.”

“July 1st| 130 sail have arrived at the Hook.”

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

III

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, SEPTEMBER
12, 1776

One page folio. Both George and James Clinton were stationed in the Highlands and in charge of the forts there, which finally fell before the forces of the English General Clinton on February 6, 1777. The present letter of Washington from New York has to do with these important forts on the Hudson. The difficulty of getting labor and arms is apparent. At the time of the present letter George Clinton was keeping his eye on

British movements around New York City, while James was at Fort Montgomery. On p. 336, vol. i, of the "Clinton Papers," the letter from James to George Clinton is published, giving an account of affairs at the fort, and written on September 8th, the date of General Clinton's similar letter to Washington.

"Sir: I have before me your two letters of the 8th and 10th Inst. The first inclosing Returns of the number of men and Ordnance and Artillery Stores at Forts Montgomery and Constitution; the last, copies of two letters from the Convention of the State of New York, by which it appears they had ordered in 600 Militia as a reinforcement to the two posts, and which I hope will put them in a proper State of Defence. I ordered Col'l Knox to provide and forward the different articles wanted by you in the Ordnance Department. * * * * The Convention having ordered an Armourer with proper tools to be fixed at your posts, I hope what arms are at present out of Repair will soon be made fit for use. We must make every shift with our old arms till we can get better supplied."

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

IV

WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON, APRIL
26, 1777

Two page quarto. This letter from Headquarters at Morristown was written to George Clinton, who six days previously had been elected Governor of New York State. In the catalogue of the Appleton Collection this was erroneously designated as a letter to James Clinton. The main part of it is printed in Sparks' (vol. iv,

p. 398), but the postscript is entirely unpublished. These few lines are of interest in showing Washington's confidence in Clinton's judgment. Frequently we find him asking the more distinguished brother to decide whether certain instructions should be forwarded to James.

"Dear Sir, I wrote you on the 23d Inst. communicating intelligence lately received respecting the enemy's designs up the North River. A letter from Gen'l. McDougall this moment received, places their intentions beyond the power of misconception. Several Transports have anchored at Dobbs Ferry—and mean, in my opinion, to divert our attention, if possible, from their movements towards the Delaware. At any rate they may attempt to make some incursion into the Country back of this place, and if they can, seize the passes thro' the mountains, thereby aiming to cut off the communication between the army here, and the North River. To frustrate such a dis'gn effectually, I must repeat my desire, that you would post as good a Body of Troops in the Mountains, West of the River, as you can collect and spare from the Garrison—this will serve not only to retain our possession of the passes, but will awe the disaffected & protect our friends."

"P. S. If your brother's attention is particularly confined to the posts on the River, would it not be attended with greater good if he would take charge of the Troops designed for the passes within mentioned, while you are confined to the Forts. If you think with me, please write to him on this head."

V

WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON, JUNE 8, 1777

One page folio, giving instructions regarding the opposition to the advance of the English up the

Hudson River, written by Washington, at Headquarters at Middle Brook, to Clinton, at Fort Constitution. Shortly afterward the fort had to be abandoned.

“I have to request that you will keep as large a body of the Militia as you can collect, and have them in as good order as Circumstances will permit, in case Gen’l Howe should Incline up North River,” etc.

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

VI

WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON, AUGUST
13, 1777

One page folio. This letter from Headquarters in Bucks County refers to the campaign of General Burgoyne, whose ultimate defeat was one of the most cheering events of the early years of the war. Washington refers complimentarily to General Gates, who, on the other hand, seldom lost an opportunity to speak disparagingly of the Commander-in-Chief. This letter is printed in Sparks, vol. v, p. 28.

“Dear Sir, Your vigilance in providing a proper force to oppose the enemy, and the alacrity with which the militia have assembled, afford me great satisfaction. If your efforts are seasonable and skillfully seconded by your eastern neighbours, we may hope that General Burgoyne will find it equally difficult either to make a further progress, or to effect a retreat. You are the best judge with respect to the length of service to be required from the militia. However, as their assistance is a resource, which must be sparingly employed, I would have them detained no longer than is absolutely necessary. The excuse of want of confidence

in the general officers, which has hitherto been alleged by the eastern States, for withholding those reinforcements from the northern army, which were expected from them, will be obviated by the presence of Major-General Gates. The resolves of Congress, which relate to the recruiting of the army, will have reached you before this time, and you will have acted in consequence. By a resolve of the 3d of August, the commanding officer of the northern department has discretionary power to make requisitions on the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. There will, therefore, be a concurrence of authority in yourself and General Gates, which you will arrange between yourselves."

VII

WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON, AUGUST
16, 1777

Three page folio. This magnificent letter is one of those epistles that give evidence of Washington's mastery of the science of war. In his instructions regarding manoeuvres he shows that psychological knowledge, which is characteristic of great commanders, of the emotions of soldiers. Apart from the importance of this letter from this point of view, its historical interest is noteworthy. Generals Howe, Stark, Lincoln, Burgoyne, and Schuyler are among the prominent military figures mentioned in this letter, which is mainly, but not entirely, published in Sparks, (vol. v, p. 29.)

"Camp, at Cross Roads, 16 August, 1777.

Dear Sir, I see, with the most sensible pleasure, the exertions of your State, dismembered as it is, and under every discouragement and disadvantage. I lament, that any

causes are sufficiently powerful to prevent that effectual aid from your eastern neighbors, which the interest of the public cause, and the immediate safety of your particular State, so pressingly demanded at this time. But, though it is dilatory in coming, I cannot but hope it will still come, before it is too late. I imagine one cause, and not the least material, of their delay, is an apprehension of Gen. Howe's army. It were to be wished that his designs were once reduced to certainty. This I should be in hopes would serve to remove that inactivity and indecision, which I believe proceed in a great measure from suspense and uncertainty. I am however advised, that a body of New Hampshire militia, under General Stark, had joined General Lincoln at Bennington, and that another of Massachusetts militia was partly arrived, and the rest arriving at the same place. A tolerable body of men once collected there would make General Burgoyne anxious for his rear, oblige him to advance circumspectly, and to leave such strong posts behind, as must make his main body very weak, and extremely capable of being repulsed by the force we shall have in front. I should not be very uneasy for the issue if I could once see our northern army recovered from their present dejection, and restored to a tolerable degree of confidence and animation. In addition to the two regiments, which are gone from Peekskill, I am forwarding as fast as possible, to join the northern army, Colonel Morgan's corps of riflemen, amounting to about five hundred. These are all chosen men, selected from the army at large, well acquainted with the use of rifles, and with that mode of fighting, which is necessary to make them a good counterpoise to the indians; and they have distinguished themselves on a variety of occasions, since the formation of the corps, in skirmishes with the enemy. I expect the most eminent services from them; and I shall be mistaken if their presence does not go far towards producing a general desertion among the savages. *I should think it would be well, even before their arrival, to begin to circulate these ideas, with proper embellishments, throughout the country and in the army; and to take pains to communicate them to the enemy. It*

*would not be amiss, among other things, to magnify their numbers.** I am of the opinion, with the Council of Safety, that your presence to the northward might have a very happy influence, and, if it were compatible with the many other calls there are and will be upon you, I could wish to see you with the northern army at the head of a militia of your State. From some expressions in a letter, which I have seen, written by General Lincoln to General Schuyler, I am led to infer, that it is in contemplation to unite all the militia and Continental troops in one body, and make an opposition wholly in front. If this be really the intention, I should think it a very ineligible plan. An enemy can always act with more vigor and effect when they have nothing to apprehend for their flanks and rear, than when they have; and it is one of the most approved and most universally practiced manoeuvres of war, to keep their fears continually awake on these accounts, and, when circumstances permit, to be actually in condition to give them serious annoyance in those parts. Independent of the inconveniences, that attend a situation where the rear and flanke are constantly exposed to the insults of light parties, which may at every moment be harassing them; the necessity of never losing sight of the means of a secure retreat, which ought to be the object of an officer's care, must be exceedingly embarrassing, where there is a force in such a position as to endanger it. If a respectable body of men were to be stationed on the Grants, it would undoubtedly have the effects intimated above, and would render it not a little difficult for General Burgoyne to keep the necessary communications open; and they would frequently afford opportunities of intercepting his convoys. If there should be none there, he might advance with security, leaving small posts behind, and might draw his supplies regularly and without interruption; than which nothing could tend more to facilitate his operations and give them success. These reasons make it clearly my opinion, that a sufficient body of militia should

* *The italicized sentences prove that for the sake of his country Washington could tell, or at least countenance, a lie.*

always be reserved in a situation proper to answer those purposes. If there should be more collected than is requisite for this use, the surplusage may, with propriety be added to the main body of the army. I am not, however, so fully acquainted with every circumstance, that ought to be taken into consideration, as to pretend to do anything more than advise in the matter. Let those on the spot determine and act as appears to them most prudent.

P. S. It is most probable that General Schuyler will have put it out of the enemy's power to avail themselves of the convenience of Water Carriage by removing all Boats out of their way. If however, this necessary precaution should not have occur'd to him, it will be proper to remind him that all means of facilitating their progress down the river should be cut off as speedily as possible."

VIII

WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON, JULY 11,
1778

Three page folio, from Headquarters at Paramus. This is one of those important letters whose absence from the "Clinton Papers," purchased by New York State, the editor especially regretted. In it Washington consults Clinton at great length concerning the next movement of the army, and asks the Governor's advice as to whether he considers it more advisable for Washington to take up his position on the east or west side of the Hudson River. The references to Long Island, Staten Island, and New York City are all of much interest, while the postscript, quoting from the letter from Benedict Arnold reporting the arrival of the French fleet, gave the first information to the

Governor of New York of news that sent a thrill of new hope to the American people. The letter of Henry Laurens, President of Congress (dated the next day, July 12th), to Governor Clinton, confirming this news, is printed in the "Clinton Papers," vol. iii, p. 547; but Washington's letter is missing.

"Dear Sir, The first division of the Army moved from hence this morning, about four miles, to give room to the Second. They will reach Kokiata tomorrow evening, and the North River the next day. I shall halt the remainder hereabouts a few days, to refresh the men. I am yet undetermined as to the expediency of throwing the Army immediately over the North River. I will state my reasons for hesitating, and shall beg to hear your sentiments upon the matter.

Upon conversing with the Q. M. and Commissary General and Commissary of Forage, upon the prospect of supplies, they all agree, that the Army can be much more easily subsisted upon the West, than upon the East side of the River. The country on this side is more plentiful in regard to forage: and flour, which is the article for which we shall be most likely to be distressed, coming from the Southward, will have a shorter transportation, and consequently the supply more easily kept up. We are beside in a country devoted to the Enemy, and gleaning it, takes so much from them. Was this the only point to be determined, there would not remain a moments doubt; but the principal matter to be considered, is, (upon a supposition that the enemy mean to operate up the North River) whether the Army, being all or part upon this side the river, can afford a sufficient and timely support to the posts, should they put such a design in execution.

Upon this point then, Sir, I request your full and candid opinion. You are well acquainted with the condition of the posts, and know what opposition they are at present capable of making, when sufficiently manned which ought in my opinion to be immediately done. After that, you will

please to take into consideration, whether any, and what advantages may be derived from the Army's being upon the East side of the River, and if there, what position would be most eligible. The neighbourhood of the White Plains after leaving sufficient Garrisons in our rear, strikes me at present. We have the strength of the ground, and we cover a considerable extent of Country, and draw forage which would otherwise fall into the hands of the Enemy.

In forming your opinion, be pleased to advert to the necessity of keeping our force pretty much collected, for which side soever you may determine: For should the enemy find us disjointed, they may throw the whole of theirs upon part of ours, and, by their shipping, keep us from making a junction.

In determining the above, you are to take it for granted that we can, should it be deemed most expedient, support the Army upon the East, tho' it will be with infinitely more difficulty than upon the West side of the river.

By the latest accounts from New York it does not seem possible that the Enemy will operate any where suddenly; They have been much harassed and deranged by their march thro' Jersey, and are at present encamped upon Long, Staten and York Islands.

We have this day a rumor that a French Fleet has been seen off the Coast, and that the English is preparing to sail from New York in pursuit of them. But it is but a rumor.

P. S. I have just rec'd a letter from General Arnold at Philad'a. in which is the following. "An express is arrived to Congress from France by the way of Boston with intelligence, that on the 15th of April a French Fleet sailed from Toulon consisting of 12 sail of the line, 7 frigates and "4xbecks"—which we may hourly expect to arrive in this or Chespeak Bay.—Admiral Keppel sailed the 24th April from St. Helens with 11 sail of the line."

The above fully corroborates the account from New York, but I do not know that it ought to be made public yet, I mean as to numbers."

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

IX

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JULY 31,
1778

Two page folio. This letter from White Plains is another one of those epistles in which Washington laid down general laws of the science of war, regarding reconnoitering and manoeuvring against the enemy. [Compare letter of August 16, 1777, described above.] This manuscript is a communication of instructions to General Clinton, who was operating around New York City, which is specifically mentioned by Washington. **THE ENTIRE LETTER, EXCEPT WASHINGTON'S OWN SIGNATURE, IS IN THE AUTOGRAPH OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON,** who was then aide-de-camp to the Commander-in-Chief.

“Sir, With the detachment under your command, which is to comprehend the Corps now advanced with Col'l. Morgan, you are to move towards Kings Bridge and the Enemy's lines thereabouts.—

The principal objects in view are, to cover the Engineers and Surveyors, while they reconnoiter and as far as time will permit, survey the ground & roads in *your* rear, and in front of the Camp—to countenance and encourage that spirit of desertion which seems so prevalent at present—to discover, if possible, those unfriendly, and ill disposed inhabitants who make a practice of apprehending, and conveying within the Enemy's line such deserters from their Army as happen to fall into their hands and with such witnesses as are necessary to elucidate the facts send them to the Head Quarters of this Army—and lastly to try

what effect the detachments approach may have upon the Enemy.

I do not mean, or wish, that you should encamp very near the Enemy of nights, but wherever you do Incamp, that you do it in proper order of battle, so that your officers and men may rise at once upon the ground they are to defend. Your banks and forts sufficiently advanced upon every possible approach, always remembering how disgraceful a thing it is for an officer to be surpris'd, and believing, that if the enemy are in force at the Bridge, they will certainly attempt it.

When I speak of your banks, I have an eye particularly to the North River, as the enemy can, with facility move with both secrecy & dispatch by water, if they are provided with boats at, or near the Bridge, or even at the City, so as to be upon your right bank & even rear, without much difficulty, or notice.

Have your evening's position well reconnoitered before hand, and unless there are good reasons to the contrary, I would advise against kindling fires at night, as the weather is warm, & your position would be discover'd, & advantages taken from the knowledge of it.

You may continue out with the detachment two, or three days & nights, according to the state of your provisions and other circumstances, and when you return, leave an officer & sixteen Dragons of Coll. Sheldons Regiment, with Coll. Morgan, who with the detachment under his immediate command is to remain until further orders.

As the grounds on the West side of the Bronx River are much stronger, than those on the East, it may possibly be more eligible to go down on that side, and remain on the other, in case any attempts should be made to harass your rear —

You will give me the earliest and fullest intelligence of all occurrences worthy notice.

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

THE NEXT EIGHT LETTERS FORM AN UNPUBLISHED SERIES HAVING TO DO WITH THE SULLIVAN-CLINTON CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE INDIANS. THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS IN ITALICS ARE FROM THE SECOND VOLUME OF JOHN FISKE'S "AMERICAN REVOLUTION."

The popular reputation of Brant as an incarnate demon rests largely upon the part which he was formerly supposed to have taken in the devastation of Wyoming. But the "monster Brant," who figures so conspicuously in Campbell's celebrated poem, was not even present on this occasion. Thayendanegea (Brant) was at that time at Niagara. It was not long, however, before he was concerned in a bloody affair in which Walter Butler was principal. The village of Cherry Valley, in central New York, was destroyed on November 10th by a party of 700 Tories and Indians. All the houses were burned, and about 50 of the inhabitants murdered without regard to age or sex. Many other atrocious things were done in the course of this year; but the affairs of Wyoming and Cherry Valley made a deeper impression than any of the others. Among the victims there were many refined gentlemen and ladies, well known in the Northern States, and this was especially the case of Cherry Valley.

Washington made up his mind that exemplary

vengeance must be taken, and the source of the evil extinguished as far as possible. An army of 5,000 men was sent out in the summer of 1779, with instructions to lay waste the country of the hostile Iroquois and capture the nest of Tory miscreants at Fort Niagara. The command of the expedition was offered to Gates, and when he testily declined it, as requiring too much hard work for a man of his years, it was given to Sullivan. To prepare such an army for penetrating to a depth of 400 miles through the forest was no light task; and before they had reached the Iroquois country, Brant had sacked the town of Minisink and annihilated a force of militia sent to oppose him. Yet the expedition was well timed for the purpose of destroying the growing crops of the enemy. The army advanced in two divisions. The right wing, under General James Clinton, proceeded up the valley of the Mohawk as far as Canajoharie, and then turned to the southwest; while the left wing, under Sullivan himself, ascended the Susquehanna. On the 22d of August the two columns met at Tioga, and one week later they found the enemy at Newtown, on the site of the present town of Elmira,—1,500 Tories and Indians, led by Sir John Johnson in person, with both the Butlers and Thayendanegea. In the battle which ensued, the enemy was routed with great slaughter, while the American loss was less than fifty.

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, NOVEMBER
16, 1778

One page folio. This letter from Headquarters at Fredericksburg contains instructions concerning the retaliatory measures of the American army after the terrible Cherry Valley Massacre. It is referred to in a letter of the same date from Washington to General Hand, beginning: "I have yours of the 13th, containing the disagreeable account of the attack upon Colonel Alden's regiment at Cherry Valley. I have ordered General Clinton, with the two remaining regiments of his brigade, to march immediately to Albany, that they may be ready to act as circumstances may require. It is in the highest degree distressing to have our frontier so continually harassed by this collection of banditti, under Brant and Butler." (Sparks, vol. vi, p. 111.) The present letter is unusual in having a smudged signature of Washington, showing the impression of his thumb.

"Sir, I request that you will, as soon as possible after the receipt of this, proceed with the remainder of your Brigade to Albany. If Col'l. Hay the Qr. M'r. can furnish vessels for transporting the troops, without breaking in upon those that will be necessary for crossing such part of our Army as will soon go to Jersey and the Convention Troops now on their way to Virginia, it will be much better than for you to proceed by land. You will consult him upon the occasion. The enclosed copy of a letter to Gen'l. Hand will point out the cause of your movement—and you will

consider it as instructions for your conduct, as you will have the command.—In writing to him it was only intended that matters should be getting in train," etc.

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XI

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, NOVEMBER
20, 1778

Two page folio, from Headquarters at Fredericksburg, containing further instructions in regard to the campaign against the Indians. Being franked, this letter has two signatures of Washington.

"Dear Sir, Upon the receipt of this letter you will be pleased to proceed immediately to Albany, or the place to which General Hand may have gone:—previously, however directing the two Regiments of your brigade to follow you, in case they have not already set out, and to wait your orders at Albany.

General Hand received my directions to take the Command at the Minisink in which I have, (for the present) included Col'l. Cortlandt's Regiment, now at Rochester. You will deliver him the inclosed letter, left open for your information, in which I have desired a free communication of sentiment, and co-operation of force—You will therefore consult with General Hand, on the plans he may have in contemplation, whether offensive against the Indians, or for giving greater security to the frontiers," etc.

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XII

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, DECEMBER
31, 1778

Two page folio. From Philadelphia, with special instructions regarding General Schuyler, the gallant New York general, whose trial before Congress was mainly due to the petty jealousy of General Gates. Washington's compassionate nature is manifest in the line, "I always hear of capital executions with concern." This letter has two signatures of Washington, being franked by him.

"Sir, I have been favoured with your letter of the 5th inst. and with yours & Gen'l. Hands' of the 20th ult. The one you mention of the 20th never came to hand.

As the impediments which suspended General Schuyler from command are now removed by an honorable acquittal I have written him a line upon the subject of his resuming it, in the Department where he now is for the present. If this event takes place, you will till some new arrangement or disposition is made consider yourself under his directions and receive orders from him accordingly.

With respect to Major Whiting's application to be relieved—I have mentioned the matter to General Schuyler and he will give such orders about it, as circumstances will permit and justify. I have also mentioned to him the case of Lt. Jonas Parker, and requested him to obtain a state of the Officers of the Regiment—of the vacancies and the periods when they happened,—and to transmit it to the Board of War, who are to issue all commissions in future.

I always hear of capital executions with concern, and regret that there should occur so many instances in which they are necessary.—Aaron Williams appears to have de-

served the fate he met with—and the service, from the number of desertions you mention in the York line, to have pointed to his early punishment.”

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XIII

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JANUARY
19, 1779

Two page folio. This letter from Headquarters in Philadelphia is especially interesting in connection with the campaign against the Indians. The Americans had gained the tribe of the Oneidas as allies, and the latter, fearing the attack of the other Indian Nations, had requested General Schuyler to build a fort for them. A portion of Washington's letter follows:

“When I return to camp I shall direct that cloathing be sent up to Albany for the men in Hospital at that place, and I must beg your care in having it delivered out as is wanted.

You may have such a number of snow shoes made as you may judge necessary to answer the purposes you mention. The officer who was sent down to procure Cloathing for Warner's Reg't. and Whitcomb's Rangers has obtained an order for it from the Board of War upon the Store at Springfield, from whence he will send it to the Quarters of those troops.

Inclosed you have an order upon the Commissary of Military Stores at Springfield for such quantity of ammuni- tion as you may judge necessary for the supply of the troops under your command.

You will be pleased to give directions to the officers commanding the out posts to supply any of the friendly Indians with provision whenever they shall be obliged to fly to them

for security from the Enemies. The Oneidas have lately applied to General Schuyler to have a picket Fort built in their country should they find the other Nations inclined to put their threats in execution against them for their steady adherence to our Cause. I laid Gen'l. Schuyler's letter to me on the subject before Congress and they have directed that the Fort be built upon application to have it done. You will, therefore be pleased to take the execution of the matter upon you should the Indians request it."

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XIV

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JANUARY
25, 1779

Two page folio. This letter from Philadelphia contains reference to the fort built for the Oneidas, the Indian allies of the Americans (see preceding letter). There is also definite reference to the destruction of the Cherry Valley settlement—the massacre which this expedition of Sullivan and Clinton was destined to avenge.

“Dear Sir: I have received your favors of the 9th and 13th inst's. In my last of the 10th I informed you that it was the desire of Congress that a Fort might be built for the Oneidas if they requested it—and I am therefore glad that you have ordered that work to be executed.—I also at that time enclosed an order upon the Commissary of Military Stores at Springfield for what ammunition you might think necessary for the troops under your command.—

General Schuyler in a letter of the 2d inst.; mentions the importance of a settlement called Burnets Field near the German Flats—and advises that part of the Troops now at Cherry Valley be removed to that place—as Cherry Valley

settlement is so nearly destroyed that it is scarcely an object of another attack—while that of Burnets field is of so much consequence towards keeping up the Communication with Fort Schuyler that the enemy will in all probability direct their next blow at it, unless there is a force there to oppose them. Be pleased therefore to take the matter into consideration, and endeavor to make such a disposition as will secure a place of so much value. Under present circumstances I would not have you send the Rifle Corps down—if they have not received their full cloathing, let the Commanding officer make a return of the deficiency, and it shall be sent up to them.”

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XV

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, MAY 28,
1779

Two page folio. This letter from Headquarters at Middle Brook goes into some details in connection with the campaign. It is interesting to compare the present letter with the instructions of Washington to General Sullivan (Ford's "Writings of Washington," vol. vii, p. 460). In our letter, the reference to the Onondagas in connection with Brant, the Mohawk chief, throws added light on the relation between these two tribes. The letter, being franked, has two signatures of Washington. EXCEPTING THESE SIGNATURES IT IS ENTIRELY IN THE AUTOGRAPH OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

“Sir, I have duly received your favours of the 17th, 18th and 20th—with their enclosures. The intelligence com-

municated to Mr. Deane is important—I have transmitted it to General Sullivan.

Lieutenant Colonel Regnier will inform you that he is appointed sub-inspector agreeable to your recommendation. I wish however your influence to be exerted to have a brigade inspector appointed, as Lieut't. Col'l. Regnier cannot answer the purpose longer than while your Brigade remains detached. I shall be happy if Major Fish will accept, as he acquitted himself with great credit in the office last campaign; and there is now a still more ample field for the exercise of Military talents.

In Mr. Deanes letter of the 9th, he mentions the determination of the Onondagas to give some decisive proof of their desire to conciliate our friendship. If they can be engaged by strategem or force, to bring off Butler or Brandt, or both, it will be a most essential piece of service which will meet with suitable encouragement. I recommend this to your particular attention.

I am informed by Mr. Mitchell and Colonel Hay, that the packet you are apprehensive of having mis-carried was sent to General Schuyler, which is the cause of the delay. I hope ere this it has reached you.

As our preparations in this quarter are now nearly ready to enter upon the intended operations to the Westward—I hope you have gotten everything in readiness at Canajoharie, as mentioned in your former instructions, to execute without delay the order you shall receive from General Sullivan. If anything remains to be done it ought to be completed with all expedition.”

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XVI

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JUNE 2,
1779

Two page quarto. Washington realized the importance of this war on the frontier, but had to

leave its direction practically entirely to the two generals in charge. The right wing, under Stanton, went up the valley of the Mohawk as far as Canajoharie, then turning southwest; while Sullivan took the left wing up the Susquehanna. At the date of this letter Washington was not sure of Clinton's plans.

“Dear Sir, I have to acknowledge your favour of the 23d May.

The taking of two light three pounders in place of the artillery of the brigade, as you propose will depend entirely on the place of your junction with General Sullivan. If on the Susquehannah there will be no necessity to carry any artillery whatsoever, as General Sullivan has made adequate provision. If the other route is determined on I have no objection to your moving with these two pieces.

I do not conceive much danger from letting the mortar remain in Albany. Should I find that it can be employed I shall give orders on the subject.

If Major Wright and the officers you mention have behaved up to the spirit of their parole; and there are no reasons to suspect them; it might be as well to continue their indulgence.—But should it be otherwise you will have them properly restricted.”

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XVII

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JUNE 10,
1779

Two page folio. This letter from Smith's Clove continues Washington's suggestions contained in his preceding letter in connection with the junction of Clinton's forces with those of General Sullivan.

THE LETTER, EXCEPTING WASHINGTON'S OWN SIGNATURE, IS ENTIRELY IN THE AUTOGRAPH OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON. THE LETTER RETAINS WASHINGTON'S SEAL.

“Sir, I have received your two favours of the 20th of May and 6th of June. I hope before this you will have received instructions from General Sullivan, respecting the precise line of conduct you are to observe. Whether your destination shall be up the Mohock River or to form a junction in the first instance with the main body at the Head of Susquehannah, is a point I have left to him to decide and to give you directions accordingly. But as the preparations on the Susquehannah are completed and the main body all in motion towards Wyoming it is essential you should be ready to move either way at the shortest notice. Should there be any delay on your part, when you are required to commence your operations, the consequences may be very disagreeable. I therefore leave it with you to make whatever further preparations you think necessary to enable you to comply with a sudden call. The Quarter Master is directed to consult you and execute your orders. The providing teams or pack horses beforehand depends on the ease or difficulty of procuring them in a hurry—I leave it to you to do as you think proper; and I expect that you will be at all points prepared, instantly to comply with the orders you may receive from General Sullivan, for the purpose of a perfect cooperation either way.

In respect to what Col'l. VanSchaik mentions of his being deficient in the means of rewarding the Indians for their services, if he should mean only a want of money, you will give him a warrant on the pay master for the necessary sum. If he means articles of cloathing &C. you will be pleased to make an application to the Commissioners for Indian affairs who I dare say will do every thing in their power to supply him.”

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XVIII

WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON, JUNE 24,
1779

One page folio. This letter from New Windsor is not alone of much historical interest but of importance as evidence (if indeed such further evidence is needed) of the original source of these letters. While this letter is not published in the Clinton volumes and is missing from the manuscripts bought by the State of New York, *the enclosure which was sent with it and is referred to in this letter was preserved*, and is printed in the Clinton volumes (vol. v, p. 95). In it General Greene gives a vivid and interesting account of the repulse of the English at Charlestown. General Pulaski had arrived at Smith's Clove on the 7th. On the 11th the English attacked Charlestown. According to Greene they "left 653 upon the ground," while the Americans lost but two men in the action.

"Dr. Sir, That I might be more convenient to the works at West Point, I removed my quarters to this place on Monday last. I have only to add upon this subject that I shall be happy to see your Excellency here, as often as your leisure will permit.

There has been no official account received from Charles Town as yet that I know of; but I have no doubt but that there has been an action there, and that the issue has been in our favour. The inclosed is a copy of a letter I just received from General Greene, in which the affair is so

particularly related that it is hardly possible it can be destitute of foundation. I trust we shall have in a few days the fullest confirmation."

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XIX

WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON, JUNE 28,
1779

One page folio, with extract of letter to General Sullivan, two page folio, and draft of Governor Clinton's answer to Washington, on third page. Letter franked by Washington, and Washington's seal in perfect condition. These items relate to General Sullivan's expedition against the Indians. The letter of Washington to Sullivan is published in Sparks, vol. vi, p. 275. The Clinton letter to Washington, written on the third page of Washington's letter to Clinton, *which is entirely unpublished*, adds greatly to the value of this item.

(Washington's letter:)

"Head Quarters, New Windsor, June 28th, 1779.

"Dr. Sir, I have the honor to inclose you an extract from my letter of the 21st to Gen. Sullivan by which you will perceive I have informed him that Lieut. Col. Pawling with a part of his command will join Gen. Clinton at Ononquaga and proceed on the ulterior operations of the expedition. As you left the matter to my determination whether the party should return or proceed on the Western service after effecting the primary object I have preferred the latter as the safest. By some intelligence from Canada received through Col. Hazen concurring with what Col. VanSchaick com-

municated some time since, it is said that 1500 men were sent early in the spring to the posts on the Lakes. Though I don't give intire credit to this account, yet as it may be true, I am willing to strengthen the expedition as much as possible, to avoid an accident. I am to request your Excellency will give directions to L't. Col. Pauling accordingly."

(Gov. Clinton's answer.)

"Pokeepie, 1st July, 1779.

"Dear Sir, I have rec'd. your Excellency's letter of the 20th ult. I have already given Col. Paulding Directions to make every necessary preparation and be in perfect readiness to march with the Troops under his Command on the shortest notice and that his men might be properly provided I have barely intimated to him in Confidence that he was to form a Junction and continue with the Troops destined for the Western Expedition as soon as I shall be advised of the period most proper for him to march, I will give him orders agreeable to your Excellency's report. From a letter I rec'd from Col. Hay I have drawn to apprehend that the want of money in the Qu'r. Mr's. Department may prevent his supplying this detachment with what may be necessary to enable them to move in season."

(Instructions to Gen. Sullivan.)

"Extract of a letter to Major General Sullivan dated Head Quarters, Smiths Clove, 21st June, 1779:

"On the 19th your favor of the 12th came to hand. I am sorry that you are like to be disappointed in the independent Companies expected from Pennsylvania, and that you have encountered greater difficulties than were looked for. I am satisfied that every exertion in your power will be made and I hope your eventual operations will be attended with fewer obstacles. I have had a conversation lately with his Excellency, Governor Clinton. He informs me that notwithstanding the interruption given by the movements of the Enemy up the River, a Body of Troops under the

command of L't. Col'l. Pauling will still be ready for the proposed cooperation, two hundred of these being engaged for a more permanent service, after effecting the first object will meet General Clinton at Ononquaga and proceed with him to join you. It was the Governor's intention to conduct this business in person; but as the end may very well be answered by another, and as his presence here to influence the Militia on any emergency may be essential, I have advised him to decline the Command of the party. L't Col'l. Paulding is a very good Officer."

We see from this that Governor Clinton was to have led the forces that joined his brother's in this expedition, but was advised by Washington not to assume command. This letter is of much interest in connection with the unpublished series of letters concerning Sullivan's campaign, from Washington to General Clinton, described above.

XX

WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON, OCTOBER
4, 1779

Six page folio, enclosing a resolution from Congress, one page folio. This lengthy letter from West Point was written during one of the most depressing periods of what John Fiske calls "a year of disasters." Washington's appeal to New York State for men and for commodities is strikingly made in this letter. The Count D'Estaing, with the French fleet, was off the coast of Georgia preparing to combine with General Lincoln in the attempt to recapture

Savannah. The attempt failed disastrously (October 9th) and Washington had to give up his idea of attacking New York with the aid of D'Estaing.

A six-page, unpublished Washington war letter is an excessive rarity. Washington's communication to Governor Clinton of his plan to attack New York (occupied by Sir Henry Clinton) is interesting in connection with the special regret expressed by the editor of the "Clinton Papers" concerning "the absence of one or two letters in which it seems he (Washington) must have stated some grand movement against the enemy, but which is not disclosed in George Clinton's answers assuring him of hearty and strong cooperation." *Clinton's reply to this very letter is in the Clinton volumes (vol. v, p. 317), but this letter is missing, and entirely unpublished.* A few excerpts follow:

"Sir, I have the honor to enclose your Excellency the Copy of a resolution of Congress of the 26th September, by which you will perceive they expect the arrival of his Excellency Count D'Estaing, and that I am directed to pursue measures for cooperating with him, and to call upon the several States for such aid as shall appear to me necessary for this important purpose. In compliance with these directions, I have made an estimate of the force of Militia which will be indispensable, in conjunction with the Continental Troops and have apportioned this force to the neighboring States according to the best judgment I am able to form of their respective circumstances and abilities.

The number I have to request of the State of New York is two thousand five hundred. In forming this estimate, I assure your Excellency I have fixed upon the smallest num-

ber which appeared to me adequate to the exigency, on account of the scantiness of our supplies, and I think it my duty explicitly to declare that the cooperation will altogether depend on a full compliance with these requisitions.

If I am so happy as to attain the whole number demanded a decisive stroke may be attempted against New York with a reasonable prospect of success. If the supply falls short the disappointment will inevitably produce a failure in the undertaking. In this case, Congress and my Country must excuse a want of enterprise and success of which the want of means will have been the unfortunate cause. If the honor and interest of the States suffer from thence, the blame must not be imputed to me.

* * * * *

These difficulties were sufficient to deter me from the plan I mean to pursue, were I not convinced that the magnitude of the object will call forth all the vigor of the States and inspire the people with a disposition to second the plans of the Governors, and give efficacy to the measures they adopt. I doubt not our resources will be found fully adequate to the undertaking if they are properly exerted—and when I consider the delicacy of the Crisis—and the importance of the object to be attained—I cannot doubt that this will be the case. On one side—the reputation of our Councils & our Arms and an immediate removal of the War present themselves, on the other—disgrace and disappointment—an accumulation of expense—loss of credit with our allies and the world—loss of confidence in ourselves—the exhausting our magazines and resources—the precipitated decay of our Currency and the continuance of the War. Nor will these evils be confined to ourselves: our allies must share in them, and suffer the mortification of having accomplished nothing to compensate for withdrawing their operations from a quarter where they had a right to expect success and for exposing their own possessions to hazard in a fruitless attempt to rescue ours.

From the accounts received we are hourly to look for the appearance of the French Squadron on this Coast—the

emergency is pressing—and all our measures ought to be attended with suitable expedition. Every moment is of infinite value,” etc.

The resolution of Congress, which Washington enclosed to Clinton, is as follows :

“In Congress Sept. 26th, 1779.

Resolved—That copies of the letters from Mons’r. Plombard to Mons’r. Gerard of the 5th and 8th of Sept. inst. communicated by General be also informed of the intention of our ally that the armament under Count D’Estaing shall operate against the enemy in these United States; and that General Washington be authorized and directed to concert and execute such plans of cooperation with the minister plenipotentiary of France or the Count as he may think proper.

Whereas Congress have received authentic information of the arrival of Count D’Estaing with a powerful fleet to cooperate with these United States; and whereas by the vigorous exertions of the said States the allied forces may be enabled to strike an important blow against the enemy.

Resolved that it be most earnestly recommended to the several States to furnish General Washington with such aid as he may require of them respectively as well by detachment from their Militia as by providing that the allied armaments in the United States be speedily and effectually furnished with ample supplies of bread & other provisions & that the most vigorous exertions be made for that purpose.”

THIS RESOLUTION IS ENTIRELY IN THE AUTOGRAPH OF, AND SIGNED BY, CHARLES THOMSON, SECRETARY OF CONGRESS.

XXI

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, MAY 30,
1780

Four page folio. This letter from Headquarters at Morristown has to do with the movement of the enemy from Canada and the defense of Fort Schuyler.

“I informed you yesterday morning that I had received certain advices that a body of the enemy from Canada, computed at about five hundred under Sir John Johnson, had penetrated into the state of New York by way of the Mohawk River, as far as Johnstown, and seemed as if they were about to take Post there, and that there were other accounts received through prisoners who had escaped from Canada, that a larger force than this was assembling at Montreal about the last of April, intended as it was said, to make an expedition against Fort Schuyler,” etc.

The above is only the first paragraph of a long and interesting letter which may be found printed in full in Sparks, vol. vii, p. 63.

XXII

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JUNE 10,
1780

One page folio. It is interesting to compare this letter with that written by Washington, on the same day, to General Howe, in which he says, “Use all possible vigilance and caution. It is not improbable Clinton’s brigade may shortly reen-

force you" (Ford's "Writings of Washington," vol. viii, p. 308). At this time the British were eager to capture West Point. Early in July, 1780, Benedict Arnold asked for the command at West Point in order to betray this stronghold. Washington, unsuspecting his brilliant general, consented.

Head Quarters, Heights above Springfield.

"Dear Sir. From the accounts which I have received from the Northward, I am in hopes there will be no occasion for your advancing beyond Albany. I put this letter under cover to the Lieut. Governor with a desire to forward it to you, in case the information he may have received of the retreat of the enemy will justify your recall. In such case, you will return with the utmost expedition to the West Point and put yourself under the Command of General Howe or General Heath should he have arrived from Boston—From the present apprehensions of the designs of the enemy you will be pleased to use every exertion to reach West Point should it be determined by the Legislature that you may come down the River."

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XXIII

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, OCTOBER
28, 1780

Two page folio. This letter, written from Headquarters at Preakness, N. J., is of importance, as it contains Washington's appointment of General Clinton to chief command at Albany and on the Frontier. The main part is published (Sparks, vol. vii, p. 279), but the interesting postscript is

unpublished. The words "turn over" (to this postscript) are in Washington's autograph, and the letter, being franked, has two signatures of Washington.

"Sir. As it is necessary there should be an officer in whom the State has confidence to take the general direction of affairs at Albany and on the Frontier, have fixed upon you for this purpose, and I request you will proceed to Albany without delay and assume the command. You will be particularly attentive to the post of Fort Schuyler and do everything in your power to have it supplied with a good stock of provision and stores; and you will take every other precaution the means at your command will permit, for the security of the frontier giving me the most early advice of any incursions of the enemy. I inform General Heath of your appointment.

Turn Over

P. S. (on 2nd page)

I have been informed a great number of Arms have been delivered at Albany—by whose Order, or to whom I know not—but presume they are in the hands of the Militia, and more than probably by order of Col. Van Scaick or Col. Malcolm.—I beg that every possible means may be used to recover them to the public; and no more be delivered to Militia."

XXIV

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, DECEMBER
19, 1780

Two page folio. In this letter from Headquarters at New Windsor, Washington refers to an application he has just made to Governor Clinton regarding those citizens who were employed in the

works under General Clinton. A portion of the letter follows:

“Upon a representation made to me by Mr. Shephard the Armourer at Albany, I have applied to the Governor for an exemption from military duty, for those citizens who are employed in the Works, and I do not doubt he will grant it.—Mr. Shephard mentions that the Works want many repairs to render them convenient to carry on the business during the Winter.—You will be pleased to direct the Quarter Master to give him every assistance in his power, and I shall be obliged to you, for paying your attention to a matter of so much consequence as having the damaged Arms repaired.—You will also enquire every now and then into the State of that Provision at Fort Schuyler and take every opportunity of keeping the supply two or three Months at least beforehand.”

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XXV

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, MAY 4,
1781

Three page folio. The importance of Fort Schuyler in connection with the defense of the Frontier was keenly appreciated by Washington, and in this unpublished letter from New Windsor we find him going to the extreme of suggesting resorting to “military coercion,” if necessary, in order to obtain food for the garrison of this fort. The letter, being franked, has two signatures of Washington.

“Instantly on the receipt of your letter of the 16th ult. (which came to hand in two days from the date) I dispatched a copy of it to Congress; enforcing thereby the

pointed representations, and earnest solicitations, I was making at that moment, respecting the supplies of the Army: how far Congress will be able to devise ways & means for immediate relief, or induce the States to comply with their former requisitions, I cannot determine—but in the mean time every possible exertion should be used, to obtain bread from this State, and meat from the Countries of Massachusetts most contiguous to you—and where persuasion, entreaty, & requisition fail of success, Military coercion must be made use of.

Rather than the Garrison of Fort Schuyler should fall; and the Frontier be again desolated and laid waste, I am persuaded the State will make a great effort to afford a supply of flour for the Troops in that quarter.—And I confess I see no other alternative, under our present circumstances,” etc.

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED. The body of this letter is in the autograph of Col. David Humphreys, as are several of the other letters in this collection.

XXVI

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, MAY 7,
1781

Three page folio. This letter, which after three days followed the preceding letter, shows to what extremity Fort Schuyler had come. In it Washington gives Clinton such encouragement as is possible. The nobility of his words to the hard-pressed commander are characteristic of the hero of Valley Forge. We shall reserve for the purchaser of this collection the pleasure of printing this, and others, of the unpublished letters in full, giving here merely the concluding paragraph.

“I should therefore advise, that the Garrison of Fort Schuyler should hold out to the last extremity, and I have no doubt of your still continuing, to use your unremitting exertions, thro’ every possible difficulty, and embarrassment, to succor that Garrison, and to avert the disasters and calamities we have but too much reason to apprehend, from the present Temper of the Troops & complexion of our affairs in that quarter. Under these circumstances, should the worst evils take place, that may be dreaded, you will have the pleasing consciousness of having faithfully performed your duty to the public, and may rely upon the entire approbation and esteem of

Dear Sir

Your Most Obedient Humble Servant

Geo. Washington.”

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED. Compare Washington’s letter of same date to Governor Clinton (“Clinton Papers,” vol. vi, p. 848), in which Washington refers to this very letter to James Clinton. The present letter, being franked, has two signatures of Washington.

XXVII

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JUNE 5,
1781

Three page quarto. This letter of instructions from New Windsor regarding the defense of New York State is printed in full in Sparks, vol. viii, p. 67.

“New Windsor, 5 June, 1781.

Dear Sir, In my letter of the 28th ultimo, I informed you of the succours you might expect, if necessary. The six companies of Van Schaick’s regiment have since sailed

Hazen's will follow tomorrow. I have now to communicate my sentiments in general, respecting the disposition and application of this force.

It is clearly my opinion, that the reinforcements lately ordered to the northward should be kept together as much as circumstances will admit, or at least so near as to be speedily assembled upon an emergency; as it is not certain or probable, that they will be continued permanently in that quarter, and as they are designed while there to strike the enemy, should they be so presumptuous as to attempt to penetrate into the Country. It also appears to me that the force on the Hudson & Mohawk Rivers ought not to be so widely scattered as formerly, but stationed in as compact a manner as may be, except such light parties as occasion may require to be kept out. By distributing the Troops, with a view of protecting every inch of ground, the efficient force is dissipated and lost, and the several posts are so weakened as to invite the enemy to enterprise. I wish you therefore to concentrate your strength as much as possible at the points you may judge most expedient, to form a plan of defence for the frontier, and to transmit to me the result of your determination."

* Note by Sparks: "In the letter of the 28th he had promised the six companies of Van Schaick's regiment.

In another letter, dated the 16th of June, the above orders were in part countermanded, so far as to direct General Clinton to keep these forces more compact than the first orders might imply, since it was to act with the main army in the expected operations against New York."

XXVIII

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JUNE 10,
1781

Three page folio. At this period the most important fighting was going on under General

Greene in the South, but it was of much consequence to prevent the enemy from gaining control of the northern frontier, and thus getting in a position to sweep New York State. The following letter, from Headquarters at New Windsor, being franked, has two signatures of Washington.

“Dear Sir, In consequence of repeated intelligence from the Northward, that the enemy were assembled in force, to make an incursion on our frontier, I ordered Col. Hazen’s regiment and the six companies of Col. Van-Schaick’s to Albany: since which I am informed that the number of the enemy was inconsiderable, and that those Troops, are supposed to have been drawn together near the frontier for the purpose of enabling their Recruits from among us, to join them, with more safety and facility, than they could have done without such a protection.—If this is the fact—it is to be regretted the Reinforcements was sent, at a time when every man was exceedingly wanted here, and when the absence of such a corps, will be a great impediment to our preparations, and may be a considerable obstacle to the success of the operations in contemplation.—The Troops may however remain until further orders; but I would have them, (agreeably to my Letter of the 5th inst.) keep so near together and in such constant readiness for a movement, that they may be withdrawn at a moment’s notice.

I hope before this time, the distresses of your Troops for provision, are relieved—The salted meat at Springfield is ordered on, (if you are still in want) possibly it may be expedient to take some measures with the Quarter Master, at that place, to avail yourself of this supply. Mr. Phelps will also furnish a proportion of the beef cattle procured in that State.—At the same time let me recommend to you, in the most earnest manner, that the greatest economy should be practised in the distribution and consumption of provision; especially that you would attend minutely to the issues of it, and have such effectual checks established, as

to prevent a single Ration from being issued to any person whatever, who is not properly entitled to it—A similar regulation for the Army is under consideration, and will be immediately adopted.”

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XXIX

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JUNE 30,
1781

Two page folio. This letter from Peekskill is of much interest. In a letter of the same date to Governor Clinton, Washington refers to the orders given in this very letter. To Governor Clinton, Washington writes in confidence of his attempt to surprise the British posts on the north end of York Island: “I have, upon a hope that we shall succeed, ordered Brig. Gen’l. Clinton to send down the regular troops immediately” (Sparks, vol. viii, p. 89). Washington had great faith in Governor Clinton and admitted him into his confidence in connection with several important secret plans of this nature.

“On the receipt of this you will instantly put the three Reg’s. of Continental Troops under your Command, in motion for West Point. You will be pleased to have a sufficient number of vessels for transports immediately procured by hire or impress; and forward the Troops by Regiments or Detachments of Regt’s. as soon as possible.

It will be necessary for you to remain a little time, to make arrangements respecting the Levies and Militia who are to supply the place of the regular Troops, and to give General Stark, upon his arrival at Saratoga (where he will

establish his Head Quarters) every information which will be necessary for the advantage and safety of his future command."

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XXX

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JULY 9,
1781

Two page quarto. The most interesting paragraph in this very interesting war letter from Dobbs Ferry has to do with Vermont. On account of the unfair way in which it had been treated in connection with the land controversy with New York State, Vermont had declared its independence in January, 1777; but New York succeeded in getting Congress to disclaim the intention of recognizing Vermont as a separate State. It will be noted that in this letter Washington speaks of "the *people* of Vermont," not the *State*. Only a few weeks later (August, 1781), Vermont sought admission as a State in the Union. New York gave up its opposition, but the Southern States maintained that the admission of Vermont (whose laws forbade slavery) would destroy "the balance of power" between the two sections of the confederacy, and Vermont had to wait till a Southern State could simultaneously be brought into the Union.

The following is only a short part of Washington's letter:

“I can give no countenance to any Cartel which may have been settled between the people of Vermont and the Governor of Canada, and so I lately informed Mr. Chittenden by an officer sent down by him to me. I wish there may not be other business transacted, under the cover of Flags from Vermont to Canada, besides the exchange of prisoners,” etc.

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XXXI

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JULY 24,
1781

Three page quarto. It will be remembered that General Clinton was at this time in command of Albany. This letter from Dobbs Ferry is full of instructions, the most interesting of which was the order to withdraw the Continental soldiers, and leave the defense of the frontier between New York State and Canada to the militia.

“Sir, I have received your letter of the 10th. I am very sorry to hear the disturbance which took place in the 1st Reg't. especially as the Reg't. had just sent on a sum of money for the pay of your Brigade—unluckily it seems to have missed them. On receipt of their money, this murmur I hope will be quieted.

So long as the 2d Regiment remains in Albany, I approve your keep'g up Gen. Schuyler's Guard to the number you mention—The Militia will soon arrive; the guard will then be furnished for them, and the Continental Soldiers must be withdrawn. Whenever you come down with the 2d Regt. you will collect every man of the old Reg't that you possibly can (except the Comp A of Artillery) & bring down with you—The Frontier must be left to the defence of the Militia.

You will continue to hold everything in the most perfect

readiness to move down with the remainder of the Troops, on the shortest notice—Whenever the Militia begins to arrive you will give me immediate information.

The Fort at Herkemers, for want of workmen, not being like to be completed, and but a small comparative force perhaps to be left in that neighborhood, the heavy cannon and stores there may be insecure. I have therefore thort best they should be removed to Albany, reserving only such kinds and quantity as may be absolutely needed for the defence of the posts in that quarter.—as you will probably be removed from Albany before the stores can be sent down, I have written to Col. Willet on the subject and put the matter under his direction. * * * *

P. S. On removal of so large a quantity of stores and cannon as will probably be sent down to Albany, Capt. Moody's whole Company of Artillery will not be wanted on the frontier. You will therefore order such number as you shall find necessary to continue—and the remainder you will direct to join the Army below."

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XXXII

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, AUGUST
16, 1781

One page folio. Investigation shows this letter from Dobbs Ferry to be of peculiar interest. In a letter of the same date to General Schuyler (Sparks, vol. viii, p. 129), Washington congratulates Schuyler on having escaped capture from four men who had the boldness to attempt to seize him in his own house. Schuyler's clever ruse by which he frightened the men away is recounted in a footnote in Sparks (p. 129). Washington's

letter to Schuyler refers to his instructions (in the present letter to Clinton) to leave a small guard of men to protect Schuyler from any such further attempts.

“I have been duly favored with your letter of the 19th inst. announcing the arrival of General Stark to take Command in the Northern Department and informing that the State Levies were coming in, and the Militia from the eastward hourly expected.

You will be pleased therefore on the receipt of this to embark the remaining Companies of Col. Cortland’s regiment, and proceed immediately with them to King’s Ferry where you may expect to receive further orders. * * * * P. S. You will be particularly careful not to leave any men behind except a non-commissioned officer and a small guard of your weakest men with Gen’l. Schuyler.”

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XXXIII

WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON, JANUARY
22, 1782

Five page folio. This important “circular letter” to the Governors of the thirteen States shows how great were the many difficulties which confronted Washington, even after the victory of Yorktown. The war did not end till 1783, and these two years were years of financial worry. The postscript of this letter is unpublished.

“Circular

Philadelphia, 22 January, 1782.

Sir, Although it may be somewhat out of my province to address your Excellency on a subject not immediately of a military nature, yet I consider it so nearly connected

with, and so essential to, the operations under my direction, that I flatter myself my interference will not be deemed impertinent. Upon applying to the Superintendent of finance to know how far I might depend upon him for the pay, feeding, and clothing of the army for the current year, and for the sums necessary to put it and keep it in motion, he very candidly laid open to me the state of our moneyed affairs, and convinced me, that although the assistance we had derived from abroad was considerable, yet it would be by no means adequate to our expenses. He informed me further, that, to make up the deficiency, the States had been called upon by Congress for eight millions of dollars for the service of the year 1782, and showed me the copy of a circular letter from himself to the several legislatures, in which he had so fully and clearly pointed out the necessity of a compliance with the requisition, that it is needless for me to say more on that head, than that I entirely concur with him in opinion, so far as he has gone into the matter. But there are other reasons, which could not be so well known to him as they are to me, as having come under my immediate observation, and which, therefore, I shall take the liberty to mention. Your Excellency cannot but remember the ferment, into which the whole army was thrown twelve months ago for the want of pay and a regular supply of clothing and provisions; and with how much difficulty they were brought into temper, by a partial supply of the two first, and a promise of more regular supplies of all in future. Those promises the soldiery now begin to claim; and, although we shall be able to satisfy them tolerably in respect to clothing, and perfectly in regard to provisions, if the financier is enabled to comply with his contracts, yet there is no prospect of obtaining pay, until a part of the money required of the States can be brought into the public treasury. You cannot conceive the uneasiness, which arises from the total want of so essential an article as money, and the real difficulties in which the officers in particular are involved on that account. The favorable aspect of our affairs, and the hopes that matters are in train to afford them relief, contribute to keep them quiet: but I cannot

answer for the effects of a disappointment. Enabling the financier to comply with his contracts is a matter of the utmost consequence: the very existence of the army depends upon it. Should he fail in his payments, the contract ceases, and there is no alternative left, but to disband or live upon the seizure of the neighbouring property. The saving to the public, by feeding an army by contract, is too well known to need any illustration, and that alone ought to be a sufficient inducement to the States to find the means of adhering to it. It will perhaps be urged, that the sum called for is immense, and beyond the ability of country to pay. There is one plain answer to that objection, should it be made. It is, that, if the war is carried on, a certain expense must be incurred, and that such expense must be drawn from the people, either by a partial cruel, and I may say illegal seizure of the property, which lies most convenient to the army, or by a regular and equitable tax in money or specific articles. Money, if it can be procured, is to be preferred, because it is neither liable to waste, nor is it expensive in the mode of collection or transportation. Whereas I think I may venture to say, that a great proportion of the specific articles has been wasted after the people have furnished them, and that the transportation alone of what have reached the army has in numberless instances cost more than the value of the articles themselves.

To bring this war to a speedy and happy conclusion must be the fervent wish of every lover of his country: and sure I am that no means are so likely to effect these as vigorous preparations for another campaign. Whether, then, we consult our true interest, substantial economy, or sound policy, we shall find, that relaxation and languor are of all things to be avoided. Conduct of that kind on our part will produce fresh hopes and new exertions on that of the enemy: whereby the war, which has already held out beyond the general expectation, may be protracted to such a length, that the people, groaning under the burthen of it, and despairing of success, may think any change a change for the better. I will close with a request that your Excellency will be good

enough to take the first opportunity of laying these sentiments before the legislature of your State.

From the attention, which they have ever been pleased to pay to any former requisitions or representations of mine, I am encouraged to hope, that the present, which is equally important with any I have ever made, will meet with a favorable reception.

P. S. The return of troops called for by Resolve of the 10th of December, is collecting and will be forwarded very soon. The remote situation of some of the Corps has made it a tedious business, but such is the nature of it that an accurate return cannot be digested until the return of all the Legionary Corps and those of artillery are obtained that credit may be given for the men serving in them."

XXXIV

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, DECEMBER
14, 1782

One page folio. Even after the critical period of the war was passed, and the victory of the American cause practically achieved, Washington was as careful of details as in the most doubtful years of the conflict. This is evidenced in the following letter from Headquarters in Philadelphia.

"Dear Sir. Your favor of the 6th reached me yesterday. I am sorry that you find the old Hutts of the Jersey Line destroyed, but as that mode of cantonment seems to be absolutely necessary not only for safety but for the preservation of discipline, I must leave it to you to fix upon the nearest piece of ground suitable for the purpose, with only this general direction, that it be as near as possible to the entrance of the Ringwood Clove—should the distance from the entrance be such as to require it, you may build a guard

house for a subaltern's Command at some convenient place in the gorge of the mountains to intercept straglers and suspicious persons. You will make yourself acquainted with the country leading towards the enemy and take such precautions for your security as may be necessary."

ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED.

XXXV

WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON, JUNE 21,
1783

Fifteen page folio. This voluminous "circular letter" was addressed to the Governors of all the States. It was written by Washington on disbanding the troops on his retirement from the command of the army. KNOWN AS THE "ADDRESS FROM NEWBURGH," IT RANKS NEXT IN IMPORTANCE OF ALL WASHINGTON'S WRITINGS TO HIS FAREWELL ADDRESS ON RETIRING FROM THE PRESIDENCY. This copy, sent to the first Governor of what has become the greatest State of the Union, is of special interest. A few excerpts follow:

"(Circular.)

"Head Quarters Newburgh, June 21, 1783.

Sir, The great object for which I had the honor to hold an appointment in the service of my Country being accomplished, I am now preparing to resign it into the hands of Congress, and to return to that domestic retirement, which it is well known I left with the greatest reluctance, a retirement for which I have never ceased to sigh through a long and painful absence, and in which (remote from the noise and trouble

of the world) I meditate to pass the remainder of life, in a state of undisturbed repose: But before I carry this resolution into effect, I think it a duty incumbent on me, to make this my last official communication, to congratulate you on the glorious events which Heaven has been pleased to produce in our favor, to offer my sentiments respecting some important subjects which appear to me to be intimately connected with the tranquility of the United States, to take my leave of your Excellency as a public Character, and to give my final blessing to that Country, in whose service I have spent the prime of my life, for whose sake I have consumed so many anxious days and watchful nights, and whose happiness, being extremely dear to me, will always constitute no inconsiderable part of my own. * * * *

There are four things, which I humbly conceive are essential to the well being, I may even venture to say to the existence, of the United States as an independent power * * 1st. An indissoluble Union of the States under one federal Head. 2ndly. A sacred regard to public Justice. 3dly. The adoption of a proper Peace Establishment, and 4thly. The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies, to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity, and in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community.

These are the pillars on which the glorious fabrick of our Independancy and National Character must be supported—Liberty is the basis—and whoever would dare to sap the foundation or overturn the Structure under whatever specious pretexts he may attempt it, will merit the bitterest execrations and the severest punishment which can be inflicted by his injured Country.

For my own part, conscious of having acted, while a servant of the public, in the manner I conceived best suited to promote the real interests of my country, having in consequence of my fixed belief, in some measure, pledged myself to the Army that their Country would finally do them compleat and ample Justice and not wishing to conceal any

instance of my official conduct from the eyes of the world, I have thought proper to transmit to your Excellency the inclosed collection of papers relative to the half pay & commutation granted by Congress to the Officers of the Army. From these communications my decided sentiment will be clearly comprehended, together with the conclusive reasons which induced me, at an early period, to recommend the adoption of this measure in the most earnest and serious manner. As the proceedings of Congress, the Army and myself are open to all and contain in my opinion sufficient information to remove the prejudices and errors which may have been entertained by any, I think it unnecessary to say anything more, than just to observe, that the resolutions of Congress now alluded to, are undoubtedly as absolutely binding upon the United States, as the most solemn Acts of Confederation or Legislation. As to the idea, which I am informed has in some instances prevailed, that the half pay and commutation are to be regarded merely in the odious light of a pension, it ought to be exploded forever—that provision should be viewed as it really was, a reasonable compensation offered by Congress at a time when they had nothing else to give to the Officers of the Army for services then to be performed. It was the only means to prevent a total dereliction of the Service—it was a part of their hire, I may be allowed to say, it was the price of their blood and of your Independency—it is therefore more than a common debt, it is a debt of honor—it can never be considered as a pension or gratuity nor be cancelled until it is fairly discharged. . . . I have thus freely disclosed what I wished to make known, before I surrendered up my public trust to those who committed it to me—the task is now accomplished I now bid adieu to your Excellency, as the Chief Magistrate of your State, at the same time I bid a last farewell to the cares of Office and all the employments of public life. It remains then to be my final and only request, that your Excellency will communicate these sentiments to your legislature at their next meeting and that they may be considered as the legacy of one who has ardently wished on all occasions to be useful to his Country and who

even in the shade of retirement will not fail to implore the divine benediction upon it."

SPARKS: "*The Legislatures, that were sitting when this letter was received, passed resolves highly honorary to the Commander-in-Chief; and the Governors of the States wrote letters to him expressing thanks and gratitude for his long, devoted, and successful services in the cause of his country.*"

**THIS IS THE MOST IMPORTANT
WASHINGTON LETTER IN EXISTENCE.**

WASHINGTON'S WAR MAP

A MANUSCRIPT MAP MEASURING 3 FEET 8½ INCHES BY 2 FEET 1 INCH, MOUNTED ON LINEN AND BEARING THE FOLLOWING INSCRIPTION :

“ A Map of part of the States of
New York and New Jersey

Laid down chiefly from *Actual Surveys* received from the *Right Honble* LD. STIRLING & *others* and Deliniated for the use of *His Excellcy.* GENL. WASHINGTON

by ROBT. ERSKINE F.R.S. 1777.”

This map was sold in the same sale as the letters of General Washington to the Clintons described in the preceding pages. The catalogue did not mention that not only was the map drawn *for* General Washington but that it was considerably added to *by* the General himself. Many names in that portion of New Jersey bounded on the N. by the Shawganmunk Mountains on the W. by the Delaware River, on the E. by Morristown

and the S. by Trenton, are in the handwriting of George Washington. Beyond this, many roads are dotted in, in the same colored ink, possibly also by Washington. His writing is a very familiar one when seen in its usual size but the extreme smallness of the characters upon the map acted as an effectual disguise to the cataloguer. Curiously enough we purchased a few days before the sale a book which was formerly in the possession of George Washington, and bearing upon the title page his autograph. The pedigree of the book is well known, a matter of record in the work upon Washington's books, issued by the Boston Athenæum, and elsewhere. While in Washington's possession or previously, one of the maps had been torn out. A copy was drawn in sepia, lettered in ink and inserted by General Washington in his book. The handwriting upon the war map and upon the map in the book is exactly the same. Shape and size of the letters, color of the ink, the joining of some letters and separation of others are identical. A study of both maps will convince anyone capable of making the comparison that the same person executed the writing and that that person was George Washington. As the book and map illuminate one the other, the latter has been added to the collection and is described as the next item. Some of the localities added to the war map by the General are as follows:

<i>Andover Furnace</i>	<i>Moravian Mill</i>
<i>Johnston Mill</i>	<i>Cugh's F[orks]</i>
<i>Verbryck's Mill</i>	<i>Gerritse's Tavern</i>
<i>Sourland Meeting House</i>	<i>Hopewell</i>
<i>Baptist Meeting House</i>	<i>Gardner Fort</i>
<i>Squires' Point</i>	<i>Grig's T[avern]</i>

A reference to Baker's invaluable "Itinerary of George Washington" shows that on June 22. 1778 the army advanced toward Hopewell, after breaking camp at Valley Forge, arriving there on the 24th. A council of war was held and, after objections by Charles Lee, it was decided to attack the enemy. The battle of Monmouth was the result. The routes are all plainly marked on the present map, as are all those used by the American army in the various movements before and after the encampment at Valley Forge. It is the most important item of its kind which has survived from the Revolutionary period and of the highest value in elucidating the history of the War for Independence.

WASHINGTON'S BOOK

VALLANCEY (Captain Charles). An Essay on Fortification, with a Supplement, containing Marshal Saxe's New System of Fortification, and construction of Wooden Forts. Translated from

the French. 16 *folding copper-plates*. 8vo, old calf. Dublin, 1757.

George Washington's copy, with his autograph on the title-page. Preserved in a handsome pull-off case.

The original map facing page 6 is missing but it has been supplied by a drawing by General Washington himself, making the book of far greater value. The lettering on the map is in precisely the same hand as on the war map noted above. We shall be glad to point out to interested collectors many small autographic details which prove beyond doubt Washington's handwriting on both maps.

JUN 13 1967

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